India's Maritime Diplomacy in the Indian Ocean Region: Post Cold-War Period

Synopsis
Submitted in the partial fulfillment for the requirement of
Doctor of Philosophy
In
Political Science

Submitted by
Avneet Kumar Nim
Junior Research Fellow

Under the supervision of
Dr. Vinod F. Khobragade
Associate Professor

Department of Sociology and Political Science
Faculty of Social Sciences
Dayalbagh Educational Institute (Deemed University)
Dayalbagh, Agra – 282005
2022

Introduction

"Maritime diplomacy" despite its common usage, is not an easy term to define because it involves a wide range of concerns. Maritime diplomacy of India in the Indian Ocean region was largely overlooked geopolitically, until recently. The expansion was predominantly seen as tactical backwater and an access for maritime vocation in transit away—primarily, East Asia or Europe. In the 'Asian Century', the Indian Ocean has grown in tactical importance to become a showground for antagonism amongst the major Asian powers. The interests of regional and extra-regional actors converge at sea. The regional sea lines of communication have materialized as the world's most vital issue on global and regional energy security. The domain of maritime security as a part of Indian diplomacy in the Indian Ocean is rising significantly. In this region, regional complaisant and collective security engagements are at an embryonic stage. Still there is a lack of region-wide policy-level research, particularly focused on maritime security. The Indian Ocean Region's (IOR) geopolitical environment is multifarious, sundry, vigorous and patchy. Currently, there are no region wide national level provisions or architectures in place which are explicitly designed to facilitate the doctrine of maritime diplomacy and its multi-facet provisions. This presents bewildering challenges on how to develop convincing and doable collective and cooperative security stratagems? There are no easy answers, no 'silver bullets'. The Indian Ocean Region (IOR) is difficult to deal with as a cohesive entity. Geography, combined with historical, cultural, racial, ethnic, economic, political and ideological factors make conceptualizing the Indian Ocean Region (IOR) as a unified entity highly problematic.

The Indian Ocean, the third largest ocean in the world (after the Pacific and the Atlantic), subjugates approximately 20 percent of the Earth's sea shallow and hydro-spherical coverage of 73.56 million square miles. It is circumscribed to the north by the Indian subcontinent; to the west and northwest by the east African coast and Arabian Peninsula, one-to-one; to the east by Thailand, the Malay Peninsula, Indonesia, and Australia; and to the south by the oceanic margin with the Southern Ocean at latitude 60°S, the area sheltered by the original Antarctic Treaty (1959). The western fringe of the Indian Ocean is outlined from the Atlantic Ocean in two places—at the Suez Canal, and at the meridian running south from Cape Agulhas in South Africa. At its easternmost extremity, the Indian Ocean touches the Pacific Ocean at the 147°E meridian, running south from South-East Cape on

Tasmania to 60°S latitude. The northernmost point of the Indian Ocean is the Iranian port of Bandar Imam Khomeini in the Persian Gulf. In addition, the Indian Ocean encompasses several regional seas and sea areas like the Andaman Sea, the Arabian Sea, the Bay of Bengal, the Great Australian Bight, the Gulf of Aden, the Gulf of Mannar, the Gulf of Oman, the Laccadive Sea, the Mozambique Channel, the Persian Gulf, and the Red Sea.

The Indian Ocean is rapidly flattering the new center of economic solemnity as it ties together the economic opulence of emerging Asia, the US, and the Europe. Maritime contentions in the Indian Ocean are an early sign of the returning of great-power politics to the glare of publicity of the international showground which necessitates an effective maritime policy from the Indian view point. The seven key access/vital points in the Indian Ocean Region (IOR) are the Mozambique Channel, the Bab-el-Mandeb, the Suez Canal, the Strait of Hormuz, the Malacca Straits, the Sunda Strait, and the Lombok Strait. The Indian Ocean Region encompasses 38 influential states namely, "Australia, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Comoros, Djibouti, East Timor, Egypt, Eritrea, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mauritius, Mozambique, Myanmar, Oman, Pakistan, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Seychelles, Singapore, Somalia, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Tanzania, Thailand, United Arab Emirates, and Yemen". France and the United Kingdom can also be counted among the Indian Ocean littoral states because their territories such as Mayotte and Reunion Island belong to the France whereas Diego Garcia, Salomon Island, Three Brother Island, Egmont Island, Nelson Island, Peros Banhos, Eagle Island and Danger Island comprises the United Kingdom sovereignty.

Manifold sources of insecurity upset many of the countries that rim the Indian Ocean. The Indian Ocean Region act as a global east-west-east trading belt and offers many challenges such as intra-regional conflicts between Persian Gulf states; terrorism in most of the South Asian countries (India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, India, Saudi Arabia), insurgency issue in Iraq and Yemen, civil war, famine and failure of state machinery in Somalia, high volume of illegal drug trading from Afghanistan through Pakistan and Iran and frequent piracy with armed robbery incidents in the Gulf of Aden (GOA).

South China Sea (SCS), an extended spread within reach of the Indian Ocean, is also an important pillar of India's overall maritime diplomacy which needs a micro inspection in the prevailing situation

of security and power projecting dilemma. From India's perspective, foreign and security policy in its larger neighborhood covers the entire expanse of the Asia-Pacific and extends to the Persian Gulf and West Asia. India straddles and is the fulcrum of the region between the Suez and Shanghai, between West and East Asia, and between the Mediterranean and the South China Sea (SCS). The South China Sea carries merchandise to and from the Indian Ocean. It follows that India has a stock in the South China Sea, just as China has in the Indian Ocean. Therefore, India must actively pursue its defence diplomacy outreach in the Indo-Pacific region such as; increase military training and conduct exercises and exchanges at a higher level of complexity, extend Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief (HADR) activities, share patrolling of the Malacca Strait and littoral countries, etc. The Comprehensive Strategic Partnership that India has concluded with Australia, Japan, Indonesia, the USA and Vietnam could be extended to Malaysia, Philippines, Thailand, and Singapore. India must also buttress the military capacity of the tri-services Andaman and Nicobar Command. The Andaman and Nicobar islands have immense geo-strategic value that India cannot afford to continue undervaluing one of its biggest assets.

The potential security challenges faced by India in the Indian Ocean are piracy, sea terrorism, armed burglary, unlawful trafficking by sea (Tranquillizers, small arms, human trafficking) and climate change. Deep-seated threats in the Indian Maritime Domain clearly echoed how important the area is for the research. There are oceans of openings which need to be explored and it is a grim need of the time and situation where value addition has to be made in this unexplored field.

Statement of the Problem

The Indian Ocean is a major testing ground for great-powers such as Australia, China, India, Japan, Pakistan, US, UK and other Indian Ocean Region littoral states. India's claim of a net security provider in the Indian Ocean Region is inducing mutual suspicion between Indo-China maritime relations. Both China and India are trying to project themselves as a hegemonic responsible player in the region within a new shift of responsibilities. This could trouble the Ocean's waters considerably and pose a potential source of future conflict. Also, China's free hand support for Pakistan in building up its naval arsenal poses a great threat to the Indian dominance in the region. To protect the blue water sphere of influence including the protection of Sea Lanes of Communications (SLOCs) are

important pillars of maritime diplomatic policy of the country. The Sea Lanes of Communications (SLOCs) in the Indian Ocean Region (IOR) are crucially important to the growth of the evolving new India along with other sub-regional players of the world. The strategically located vital access/vital points (VA/VP) are extremely vulnerable to disruptive attacks both from state and non-state actors, including pirates and terrorists. Lack of strategic preparedness in the region has a grave potential of eventualities affecting volatility in important resources lying in the Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ). The ideological and diplomatic differences between state and non-state actors bring the countries on a confrontation edge like the situation in South China Sea and Gulf of Aden have seen such incidents in the recent past. The changed global world order that revolves around China and the USA significantly displays India's role as a catalyst between the new world's polarities, appearing to be an emerging cause of concern for Indian maritime diplomacy. A significant maritime build-up is taking place across various fronts like protection of sea lanes of communications, maritime sea control and denial, renewed power projection through deployed battle groups packed with high profile sophisticated new age weaponry and space superiority. The difference in maritime capabilities between various powers, especially India's comparison with its natural rivals (China and Pakistan) needs a further look towards maritime buildup of India along with comprehensive new maritime policies. The rapid rise of China has been shrinking the power gap with the USA that led to a change in the balance of power in the Indian Ocean region which can only be tackled through an effective maritime diplomacy adopted by India. Continuing shrinking budgetary allocation by the Government of India over the last few years towards modernization of the naval assets of India such as stealth/nuclear warships, conventional/nuclear submarines, fighter jets, advanced RADARs & SONARs, Research vessels, high speed missile boats, minesweepers, long range torpedoes, electronic warfare platforms etc. is also a cause of problem towards effective and comprehensive maritime doctrine of India.

Theoretical Framework

The foreign policy of all nations is set against the backdrop of global contradiction, assessment of opportunities and compulsion, risk and award. Swami Vivekananda described the world as a gymnasium where nations come to make themselves strong. In the opinion of S Jayshankar, Minister of External Affairs, "to dealing with the international relation is like having many balls up in the air at

the same time and displaying the confidence and dexterity to drop none" (Jayshankar:2020). Maritime diplomacy is the key phenomenon in today's contemporary world where most of the nation states are indulging in the makeshift ideologies to secure maritime domain through political, tactical, economic and technological drives. Historical traces since the Harappa civilization of the Indus valley (2600-1900 BCE) shows that sea trade played its important role where they transported goods through Persian Gulf, Red Sea to Egypt and reached up to Indian peninsula, Sumatra and Java (Alpers:2014). In the geographical context, oceans comprise the 70 percent part of the earth surface and according to the Global Ocean commission, "ocean resources contribute five percent of world's GDP, secure the jobs of three billion people, and sustain the livelihoods of 350 million" (GOC:2015). Key determinants of maritime diplomacy are related to the concept of 'power'; 'realism'; 'neo-realism'; 'strategic realism'; 'game theory'; 'authority' and 'globalization'. The three dimensional domain of power in the form of political, economic and ideological are described by Marx and Engels in his renowned work 'the German Ideology' (1846) as, "Class which own the material production in any society also control the means of mental production". The inter-state conflict over demarcation of Exclusive Economic Zones (EEZ) to secure the maritime products gave the kinetic energy to securing power hegemony in the Indian Ocean Region by different littoral states operating in the area.

National security is always a core agenda which establishes its relevance through various international relation approaches. Historical India showcased these approaches in the writing of Kautilya (371 B.C. - 283 B.C.) during the ancient Mauryan empire. While describing the three core elements of power i.e. Knowledge, military strength and valour he concentrated on the concept of power for attainment of goals. Famous Greek thinker Thucydides (460-411 B.C.) emphasized on the reality of unequal power where strong always has an upper hand in securing their national diplomatic affairs and weak have to accept what they have to accept. Realist thinker of renaissance period Niccole Machiaveli (1469-1527) projected the theory of survival with the twin concept of power (*Lion*) and deception (*Fox*) for conduct of foreign policy. Contemporarily, intelligent calculation of one's own power and interest as against the power and interest of the enemy is so crucial for conducting any foreign affairs. Different narrative of power by western scholars like Hans Morgenthau (1904-1980): *Politics Among Nations (1948),* E.H Carr (1892-1982): *The Twenty Year Crisis (1939),* Quincy Wrights (1890-1970), Kenneth

Waltz (1924-2013): *Theory of International Politics(1979)* revolving around the balance of power circumscribed by different attributes like diplomacy, economic state crafts, and use of military forces.

In the domain of maritime diplomacy, the concept of neo-realism can be very useful to understand the tacit motives of nation states. Kenneth Waltzs (1924-2013) an American political scientist mainly advocated the concept of neo-realism through his book *Theory of International Politics (1979)*. This theory focuses mainly on the structure of the international system, on its interacting units and the continuities and changes in the system. Relative distribution of power is the central agenda of this scientific theory of international relations. Thomas Crombie Schelling (1921-2016) an American professor of foreign policy is associated with the sub-concept of neo-realism i.e. strategic realism. Strategic realism focuses its attention on foreign policy decision making. Leaders have to think strategically and instrumentally for successful bargaining in diplomacy, nevertheless bargaining can be politics or can be rude, entails threats as well as offers, assume a status quo or ignore all rights and privileges and assume mistrust rather than trust. Thus, strategic realism highlights the use of armed might in foreign policy.

Another important factor while dealing with maritime diplomacy can be elaborated with the help of the concept of game theory. Game theory is defined as a body of thought dealing with rational decision strategies in situations of conflict and competition, wherein each participant or player seeks to maximize his gains and minimize his losses (Verma:1975). The conceptual involvement of game theory which contains multiple players (nation-state), rational behaviour of various stakeholders, rules deployed towards strategic possibilities, diplomatic outcomes, payoff and minimax strategy. Hence, in the framing of maritime diplomacy, game theory helps to evolve a framework to show as to who will cooperate with whom to achieve a goal that cannot be attained in any other way. It also provides the basis for linking conflict, coalition and integration theories (Wasby: 1970).

The Peace Treaties of Westphalia and Osnabruck (1648) established the legal basis of modern statehood which reinforced through the United Nation Charter (1945) and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) in the form of sovereignty and self-determination. After the phase of decolonization, globalization has emerged as a key phenomenon while maintaining the foreign relations. In the security domain it may be correlated with the global arms trade, the proliferation of

weapons and weapon technology, the growth of transnational terrorism, the growing significance of transnational military corporations, and the discourse of global insecurity points to the existence of a global military order (Mcgrew, 2008). Concept of globalization denotes the relative denationalization of power in so far as in an increasingly interconnected global system. Power is organized and exercised on a trans-regional, trans-national, or trans-continental basis. Many other actors (Non state actors) from international organizations to criminal networks exercise power within, across, and against the states. The concept of globalization focuses our attention upon the global structures and processes of rule-making, problem solving, and the maintenance of security and order in the world system (Brown, 1992). Contemporary Military globalization is leading to the concept of 'New War' between state and non-state actors which further complicated the diplomatic affairs between the nation states. Hence, the nation-state's security role becomes more important in a globalized world.

It is an established fact that the ocean has played a concluding role in the developed north and developing south in the form of colonial trade and harnessing the potential of the ocean for their economic and military advance since the 17th century. US admiral Alfred Mahan promoted naval power as the key means of achieving national politics. After the decolonization phase economic development through globalization changed the maritime equation in the 21st century where most littoral states seek their dominating position in the new equation of balance of power. The revised Indian Maritime doctrine (2009) indicated that, "The shift in worldview from a Euro-Atlantic to an Indo-Pacific focus and the repositioning of global economic and military power towards Asia has resulted in significant political, economic and social changes in the Indian Ocean Region and impacted India's maritime environment in tangible ways".

Literature Review

Sakhuja & Narula (2016), The author analyzed the importance of Sea Lanes of Communications (SLOCs) according to the vastness of the Indian Ocean, geographical diligence in littoral regions and shipping connectivity with Asia, Oceania, Africa and rest of the world. This book also talks about the regional power approaches like ASEAN and SAARC countries in the Indian Ocean Region. Luminaries of defence universities of Singapore, Sri Lanka, and professors of JNU bring out various issues pertaining to the importance of regional cooperation and capability building in the IOR. Author

also brings out various challenges, responses and recommendations to mitigate the issues pertaining in the IOR. Author mentions the importance of the Indian Ocean Naval Symposium as it could effectively supplement policies of the member state government in the field through capacity building of regional maritime forces and developing operational compatibility among the forces. However, this book doesn't compare the maritime buildup of the various regional powers operated in the IOR.

Michel & Stickler (2012), Editors of this work compiled the papers presented in a workshop by participants hailing from the USA, Europe, Africa, & the Middle East, comprising maritime security professionals, military officials, environmental experts, shipping industry executives, government policymakers, maritime law specialists, and academicians. This work touched upon the various issues of IOR especially piracy, trafficking, terrorism and natural resources in the Indian Ocean. Piracy and armed robbery at sea particularly of the Somali coast remain top maritime security concerns in the IOR. In the second chapter of this publication, Rupert Herbert-Burns assesses the variety of sources of insecurity that afflict the region, ranging from insurgent conflict, terrorism and political instability to illicit trafficking and piracy. This work also projected the due importance of seven choke points and 38 sea-bounded states in the IOR in dealing with maritime affairs amongst them. David Michel, Halae Fuller, and Lindsay Dolan bring out the facts that Polymetallic nodules and polymetallic massive sulphides are the two mineral resources of prime interest to developers in the Indian Ocean. Presence of valuable mineral resources makes the IOR a hot topic of conflict among operating powers.

HCSS Report (2010), The Hague Centre for Strategic Studies in its report projected the maritime future of the Indian Ocean on various parameters, drivers and security implications. The important parameters are the strategic importance of SLOCs, activities of violent non-state actors, maritime power distribution & relations, and nature of the maritime build-up. The key drivers are economic interdependence, maritime ambitions of emerging powers, instability of the Indian Ocean littoral. The various security implications include the changes in the balance of power, risk of violent conflict and economic disruption. The various reports bring out the important findings in these areas. Comparison of national maritime capabilities by number of assets across strategic categories (five) clearly indicated that India is far behind China and the US. This report also defines the energy security in the IOR as by 2030 both China and India will depend heavily on oil imports, which are expected to rise to 75% and

95% respectively, based on their total oil consumption. The author feels by 2030, India is projected to overtake the US as the world's second-largest coal consumer behind China; hence, it can be predicted that energy security may be a driver for confrontation between the major players in the region.

Naval Strategic Publication (2015), This doctrine of the Indian Navy brings out many facets of Indian Navy, Indian Coast Guards and other maritime agencies. It depicts 21st century will be the 'Century of the Seas' for India and that the seas will remain a key enabler in her global resurgence. The revised strategy has been titled, "Ensuring Secure Seas: Indian Maritime Security Strategy" in recognition of two key aspects first; the rise in sources, types and intensity of threats, second; in 'freedom to use the seas'. In depth details of choke points like Sunda Strait, Lombok Strait and Ombai & Wetar Straits etc correlating with maritime economic valuation of data like Crude Oil Imports, major and non-major port, oil and gas investment publication provide the grounds for further research in finding more strategic choke points in the IOR and evaluating the deterrence factors (Nuclear & Conventional) of Indian Navy in the IOR.

Cordner (2018), The author examines the IOR maritime risk context across a 30-year time limit, seeking to evolve a cohesive approach towards attainment of shared objectives. In the process, he derives 15 broad 'strategic objectives' for the IOR, covering the full spectrum of maritime security—starting from relatively mundane points such as maintaining maritime territorial sovereignty and assuring freedom of navigation to more ambitious ones, such as addressing the uneven effects of globalization, establishing a nuclear weapon free zone and encouraging political order in IOR states. He boldly attempts to resolve through the risk–vulnerability paradigm, which offers non-threatening and non-confrontational means for considering common security concerns and for developing cooperative ends by listing out 15 objectives and risk matrix. The author's work will help in analyzing the whole Indian Ocean regional standpoint and to identify mutual maritime security issues and outcomes for regional and extra-regional actors. The author often talked about the 'Blue Economy' but somewhere gave a scope of gap to find out the ways and means to tap that Blue economy resources and their effective exploitation towards country economic development.

Forbes (2014), The work is the collection of proceedings of the Indian Ocean Naval Symposium Seminar 2014. It focused mainly on "Protecting the Ability to Trade in the Indian Ocean Maritime

Economy". Proceedings brought the demarcation between traditional and non-traditional law and order problems at sea like illegal immigration, marine pollution, piracy and other criminal activities. Backing the risk factor and risk management, work brings out that, 'the very idea of controllability, certainty or security...collapses' and a paradigm shift has occurred to present a 'world risk society' where western and non-western societies share the same space, time and challenges. Fisheries are a well-known activity at sea which play an important role in the economies of littoral states. This work helps in understanding the different aspects of fisheries like security challenges, illegal trade of high value, low volume species, Fishing vessel and naval vessel encounters and regional frameworks (BOBP-IGO, RECOFI, PERSGA, SWIOFC, IOTC & SIOFA). This will provide ample opportunities to find out new risk factors and risk mitigation strategies in the context of maritime economy in the IOR during the research process.

INIP (2015), "Indian Naval Indigenisation Plan (INIP) 2015-2030" aimed to enable indigenous development of equipment and systems over the next 15 years. It attempts to formulate the requirements of the Indian Navy and lists out the equipment which can be taken up for indigenisation in the coming years. Documents described that Indian Navy's Directorate of Naval Design has designed over 80 ships since the commencement of indigenous shipbuilding program in the 1970s and 48 state-of-the-art ships and submarines are under construction in Indian shipyards, both public and private, along with harnessing the R&D potential at DRDO and the other through 'Transfer of Technology (ToT)' with industry partners. This detailed document helps in finding the modernisation steps already taken and what more can be required as per security environment prevailed in the IOR while keeping the view of other regional and international powers. This document also helps in comparative analysis of indigenized modern weaponry of India with other countries weapon systems.

Scott (2013), The author elucidated India's spirits in the IOR and how to achieve it. There is a lack of working proficiency on the Indian side due to no proper policies towards the Indian Ocean. Further, the author also explained that the Indian Navy plays a major role but the past government mainly overlooked it. Government paid much consideration towards the strategic importance of IOR after the end of the cold war, and how it is regaining its due importance in policy making. Scott also projected India's policy vision towards SLOCs (sea lanes of communications) and how to protect them in the

region. The author has described India-China-Pakistan nexus as making this area a conflicting clash of ideas and power projection which India needs to deal with.

Alpers (2014), The author has giving an ample amount of information of the Indian Ocean region in a historical context. The document is very useful to understand the Indian Ocean region through a historical lens. The trade was carried out through ancient trading ports like Aden, in modern Yemen; Mogadishu, in Somalia; Kilwa, off the coast of mainland Tanzania; Zafar, in southern Arabia on the border of modern Yemen and Oman; New Hormuz, located on a desolate island off the coast of southern Iran; Calicut, modern Kozhikode, in southwestern India; Pasai, on the northern coast of Sumatra; and Zaytun, modern Quanzhou, in southern China. The author also described the traditional way of projecting India as a fulcrum around which the Indian Ocean gravitates. History shows us the way to solve present problems, therefore the renowned work is very informative to understand the strategic importance of IOR and open the ways how to look past in an innovative modern outlook.

Gupta (2010), The author is a naval veteran who left the Indian Navy in 2005 and did the exhaustive work to explore the Indian Ocean region. This book offers a comprehensive exposition of maritime regimes for regional cooperation by mingling theories of regionalism, integrated management of maritime affairs and regime effectiveness. Author also brings out the independent and dependent variables such as, negotiation, imposition, agenda formation, institutionalization, operationalization, entrepreneurial leadership of the governments governing the littoral state on which they looked towards their maritime domain. The book also helps in understanding how to evaluate the effectiveness of regional governance established in the IOR. The author also projected the importance of maritime scientific research on which the whole regional cooperation and conflict scenario depends. Overall, the book highlighted the multidimensional outlook of the Indian Ocean region which is very helpful to understand the volatility and flexibility phenomenon in the region and provide the scope to further research to find the new ways and means of regional cooperation which especially benefited India.

Garcia (2019), The author's work highlighted the China maritime perspective, specifically South China Sea (SCS). China hegemony in the SCS in respect of ASEAN countries is projected in a very informative and simple way. The book also helps in understanding the China military modernization

in the present security dilemma situation through the concept of Anti-Access/ Area-Denial (A2/AD) and its corresponding weapons programs in response to US power capabilities. Modern weaponry which includes the fifth generation fighter jets, advanced submarines, missile cruisers, SAM, SSM, ASM projecting China a new power block in the region. The author also backed China's maritime power through case studies of Japan, Philippines and Vietnam which are the part of area study of this research. The work helps in the comparative study of the Indian Navy modernization process with PLAN modernization.

Pant & Joshi (2012), Balance of power is the key factor which decides the international relation and hegemonic power factor in the specific domain of maritime affairs. Author highlighted the importance of US collaboration and cooperation to counter China in the Indian Ocean Region. India's smooth transition with the US pivot to Asia strategy is an important area of research towards formulation of foreign policies of India. To showcase the re-emergence of power blocks after the end of the cold war in the region, the author supported the power transition which leads to increased chances of conflict and confrontation. The author also discussed the issue of how India-Japan strategic partnership can alter the regional balance of power in the IOR region. The work helps a lot in finding the synergic gap between India-Japan-US trilogies.

UNCLOS (1982), This legally binding treaty referred as United Nation Convention Laws of Sea (UNCLOS) has provided ample information about the maritime laws. The act helps in understanding how the Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) and continental shelf is decided between the countries. Rule based demarcation of territorial sea and various operational factors which lead to safe passage and freedom of navigation is very helpful to understand the maritime economic characteristic of any area. The act is providing reliable data in the study of regional dominance of maritime assets in the Indian Ocean region and associated complexities. This comprehensive rule book touches upon each and every activities related to maritime operation like dispute resolution mechanism, artificial island, principles governing the area etc. The act finally provides the opportunity to research the effectiveness of maritime laws in the time changing dimension and how India uses such binding laws to safeguard its maritime affairs in the region.

Mière (2014), The author beautifully presented the different narratives of maritime diplomacy in the 21st Century and its drivers and challenges. From gunboat diplomacy to modern operations with aircraft carriers, destroyers, frigates and nuclear submarines the author shows how powerful navies are being used continuously for coercion purposes outside of war. The author presented the insight meaning and importance of various activities like port calls, joint exercises and training, PASSEX, OTR pertaining to maritime diplomacy for state interests. The author further described how maritime diplomacy is used as a predictive and preventive tool of governments and navies to avoid and deter conflict, but also to make a political point. Finally the author applies the game theory of Emil Borel and John Von Neuman for the contemporary analysis of maritime diplomacy. The author's work will be very useful to know about the numerous instances of maritime diplomatic events of the past which help in research work correlating the past with present events and their probable impact on future diplomatic agendas.

Krause & Bruns (2016), The author projected the geopolitical dimension through valuation of strategic geographic positions of nations while claiming wealth coupled with weakness invites extra-regional powers to intervene. Rich resources of the Indian Ocean invite many supra-national powers like the US, Russia, Japan, UK and France to make it a hotbed of conflict zone. While noting the importance of strategic lines, the author suggested bases near heavily trafficked Sea Lanes of Communications (SLOCs) are ideal, positioning the fleet close to its sphere of action for the effective propagation of maritime diplomacy. Physical features of sea (especially narrow sea/straits) such as width, depth, salinity, seawater temperature, and undersea topography are the strategic indicator harnessed by the host country while formulating its maritime diplomacy. Despite the convention of laws of sea there is a dispute over maritime boundary, sovereignty, and resource jurisdiction (continental shelf and exclusive economic zone) which can be managed through the ratification of UNCLOS by signing members and cooperative maritime diplomacy among nations. The author also gave an overview of China and Indian Ocean security while highlighting the string of pearls and Maritime Silk Road diplomacy of People Republic of China. In the concluding chapters the author presented maritime security order in Asia with special reference to the US and China strategic maritime diplomatic policies. The book provides a holistic view of world maritime diplomacy which is

handy to understand India's ways in formulating her maritime diplomacy hence the author's work is an asset for the research point of view.

Kalpan (2016), The renowned author who is in the world top 100 global thinkers presented the war, strategies and American interest in the twenty-first century which have its relevance in formulation of maritime policy from India's point of view while keeping in mind the strategic interest of America in the Indian Ocean. The author co-relate the past historical event such as the voyage of Marco Polo en-routing the ancient silk route, and describing the strategic importance of the ambitious one belt one road (OBOR) project of China. The author analyzes American foreign policy which worked behind the shadow of Responsibility to Protect (R2P) propaganda just to secure the hydrocarbon resources in western and eastern hemisphere. The world is in grip of fear, honour and interest which project the future scenario of wars between the United States and a Sino-Russian axis or between the United States and a coalition of rogue states in the midst of Indian, Japan, Australia, North and South Korea are modernizing their maritime assets and doing research and development at a faster pace. The author also evaluated the foreign policies of American presidents and concluded as present president Donald Trump is no realist. However, the author leaves the gap of how shifting the polarity between the US and China would affect the world as the current catchphrase is boots on the ground; in the future it could be hulls in the water.

Zhu (2018), Through this eight chapter book the author systematically deconstructs the Indian Ocean region from various perspectives. According to the author, the Indian Ocean is passing through the phase of rediscovery and revaluation in terms of geostrategic valuation of its resources, strategic turbulence between Indian Ocean rim and strategic deterrence of great powers. US's strategy change of "applying brake" in the Middle East and "applying accelerator" in Asia makes the geopolitical landscape of the Indian Ocean more complicated which may trigger the mutual needs between India and China besides the cooperation dilemma instigated by regional conflicts and strategic competition challenges. The author, while evaluating the PM Modi foreign policy, presents it as an aggressive government which may bring psychological change rather than change in relative strengths. Taking the clue from Alfred Thayer Mahan Sea Command Theory the author put forth the ideas how countries develop their national development strategies including maritime diplomacy because whoever

commands the sea will become a world power. However, the author may be reluctant to find out the ways and means of how India-China co-exists in the Indian Ocean. Nevertheless, the reference angles presented by the author are the gaining shoots towards proposed research on maritime diplomacy of India.

Kraska (2011), The Indian Ocean Region (IOR) is facing the biggest non-traditional form of threat in the form of piracy in the horn of Africa, Gulf of Aden (GOA), western Indian ocean, Bay of Bengal, Red sea, and the Arabian sea. The International Maritime Organization (IMO), an agency of the United Nation (UN) has recorded 5,667 piracy attacks against international shipping since 1984. The author looked at the direct and indirect impact of piracy on maritime economic, political and diplomatic affairs. Indirect impact i.e increased insurance premiums and changed trade routes due to piracy ransom may change the strategic importance of the ocean in the long run due to piracy is evaluated by the author microscopically. The author also presents a detailed account of the historical aspect for piracy from the time of the Roman Empire to the modern golden age of piracy. The author analyzes that modus-operandi of piracy is different in various hot spot areas of piracy around the globe from demand of ransom to materialization of the phantom ship or ghost ship (such as attack on the Cheung Son, a Hong-Kong flagged ship). The author also projected the tacking ways of piracy through best management practices (BMP) through deployment of multinational naval forces, use of technology like GMDSS (Global Maritime Distress and Safety System) and active/passive defensive measures. The author also gave ample information of various UN conventions/resolutions related to piracy such as ReCAAP (Regional cooperation agreement of combating piracy). The said work is very useful to look into the affair of non-state actors' role in maritime diplomacy specially piracy which is also an aspect of research.

Prabhakar (2016), The author's work puts up the historical, social, cultural and economic aspects of the Indian Ocean Region (IOR). Interlinking of the Indian Ocean with the Pacific Ocean makes it the world's most crucial strategic water which requires the balanced approach in regard to maritime diplomacy of India. India’s maritime diplomacy since the reign of Cholas, Chalukyas, Mughals and the Maratha dynasty till modern time saw many ups and downs due to the decolonization phase (Portuguese, Dutch, France and England rule) which the author analyzes comprehensively. The Naval

hegemony of the USA with various security alliances like CENTO, SEATO, ANZUS, CENTCOM, and placing their fleets in the Indian Ocean made them the game changer in the region. The author also projected the traditional and non-traditional threats in the region such as state vulnerability to non-state actors, deployment of weapon of mass destruction, impact of International laws, naval competition, and asymmetric threat that makes Indian Ocean Region an arc of crisis, hence this area need more deep sense of researches especially catering the India's interest. Maritime terrorism, illegal trafficking (human, narcotics, contrabands, nuclear fissile) are the some areas which need the further eyes of researchers.

Chauhan & Khurana (2019), A high ranked naval veteran officer as an author of the work analyzed the maritime perspective within the scope of new world order and Indian Ocean Region (IOR) as its new fulcrum. Shangri La Dialogue (2018 edition) included the new vision of Indo-pacific in India's strategic maritime geographical diplomacy. The author analyzed the project SAGAR (Security and Growth for all in the Region), a visionary concept of Honourable Prime Minister Narendra Modi for political, economic, and security cooperation. The modus operandi of the project is to address issues of all the littoral countries of the IOR which may be proved as a game changer for pursuing maritime diplomacy in the Indo-Pacific region. India claimed herself as a net security provider in the IOR and India still needs new ways and means to achieve it. Hence, new research in this area is the need of the hour. The realistic conceptualization of Indo-pacific is being mooted to check the China's jugular in the IOR towards maintaining the balance of power with new partners like the US, Japan and Australia (Quad group). This new supra-grouping projected as an Asian NATO may increase the fluidity of struggle in the area which needs a policy watch as per the author. The author also emphasized on the need of new ports and harbors to be developed at strategic locations (islands, archipelagic) in the IOR for swift maritime diplomacy like Vizhinjam port in kerala. The voluminous work of retired naval veteran officers is very useful from a research point of view to look for different strategic approaches of India's maritime policy in the Indo-Pacific in general and the Indian Ocean in particular.

Objective

The general objective of the study is assessing India's Maritime diplomacy post-cold war era in the Indian Ocean Region. The specific objectives will be:-

1. To understand the strategic importance of India's maritime diplomacy in the Indian Ocean Region.

2. To study the role of international organisations/ key stakeholders influencing maritime diplomacy of India.

3. To identify the national and international challenges in maritime security of India.

4. To examine the role of the Indian Navy in India's maritime diplomacy.

5. To study the impact of Government policies on India's maritime diplomacy.

Hypotheses

1. India holds the strategic position in the Indian Ocean Region.

2. International grouping (ASEAN, IORA, IOR-ARC, IONS, QUAD, BIMSTEC) in the Indian Ocean Region affecting India's Maritime diplomacy.

3. Non State actors and non-traditional challenges have imposed the greater risk on India's Maritime Security.

4. The Indian Navy established herself as the net security provider in the Indian Ocean Region.

5. Improved Coordination required between Indian diplomats and Military think tanks.

Research Methodology

Research Design: Descriptive

Sources of Data Collection

Both primary and secondary sources will be used for the data collection of the proposed research.

1. **Primary Sources**: The relevant data will be collected from the interviews and the discussions with the experts of this field, if possible. The study respondents included Seafarers; Marine police, Ministry of Tourism, Indian Maritime History Society, National Intelligence Service (Mainly Naval Intelligence), Fisheries Department and Ministry of External Affairs. Besides it includes Government and departmental reports.

2. **Secondary Sources:** Secondary data will be collected through books, journals, research articles, periodicals, unpublished research thesis and authenticate internet sources.

Significance of the Study

The study will likely establish facts on how to make best use of maritime diplomacy in India with a focus on Indo-Pacific in general and the Indian Ocean in particular. The projected study is influenced by the India's strategic approach towards maritime diplomacy considering maritime security and non-traditional security challenges such as piracy, terrorism, and government role. The study will likely seek the various dash lines emerging on the seafront from the lens of Neo-realism and strategic realism concept of power. The evolving importance of maritime diplomacy is on the priority list in most of modern nation states foreign policy research thus India is at par in exploring the unexplored strategic area through different perspectives. The said research study will likely touch upon the micro and macro influential factor primarily focused on India's sphere of dominance in its strategic blue water with due coverage of other national and international sub-groups. Maritime diplomacy is a complex issue in the 21st century which is further bolstered due to hegemonic behavior projected by almost all major Naval forces operated in the area to harness and exploit maritime dominance hence the projected study seeking the viable gap in erecting its maritime internal and external policies in the changed strategic security pattern.

The Indian Ocean may be calm on the surface but, on the strategic front, it is a hotbed and possibly the home to multiple conflicts. Maritime strategy is playing an ever greater role in Indian strategic thinking. As India reaches for great power status, it is increasingly turning to the Indian Ocean as a means to expand its strategic space. This research work will provide a philip over the importance of sea from an Indian point of view which has been neglected for a long time. Area study of major operating powers in the area specially focused on maritime domain highlighting the three dimensional strategic approach of these countries in context of India. Broad head to head comparison with international power proved beneficial for the top brass policy makers in strategic defiance of maritime security of India. The study will also be significantly useful for the researchers, academicians, students who are particularly interested in the studies of multi-dimensional India's maritime affairs in the Indian Ocean Region.

Likely Outcome of the Study

The likely outcome of the research study may converge on the note that that maritime security is an important element of India's diplomacy, and thus requires a multi-agency approach to protect it and

effectively deal with issues such as securing the regions maritime wealth together with the nation-state exclusive economic zones, territorial seas, internal seas, ports, and waterways. The study may thus emphasize that transoceanic security and maritime diplomacy cooperation in the region is very important.

Chapterisation: The proposed chapterisation is tentative.

1. Introduction
2. Strategic Importance of Indian Ocean
3. Impact of International Organisations on India's Maritime Diplomacy
4. Non-State Actors and Non-Traditional Security Challenges in the Indian Ocean Region (IOR)
5. Indian Navy: A Pillar of Maritime Diplomacy
6. Impact of Government Policies on India's Maritime Diplomacy
7. Conclusions and Recommendations

Bibliography

Primary Resources: Government Publications

- *Annual report 2018-19.* (2019, October). New Delhi: MOD GOI.
- *Indian Navy Naval strategic publication (NSP) 1.2: Ensuring secure seas: Indian maritime security strategy.* (2015, October). New Delhi: IHQMOD (N).
- *Indo-Pacific Strategy Report: Preparedness, Partnerships, and Promoting a Networked Region*. (2019, June). USA: The Department of defense.
- *Indian Naval indigenisation plan (INEP) (2015-203)*. New Delhi: IHQMOD (N).
- PM address at the combined commanders conference (17 October 2014). Retrieved from http://pmindia.gov.in/en/news_updates/pms-address-at-the-combined-commanders-conference/

Secondary Resources: Reference Books

- Andrew, F. (ed.) (2014). *Protecting the Ability to Trade in the Indian Ocean Maritime Economy*. Proceedings of the Indian Ocean Naval Symposium Seminar 2014.Australia.
- Chauhan, P., & Khurana, G. (ed.) (2019). *Maritime perspectives 2018* New Delhi, India: National maritime foundation.

- Christou, G. (ed.). (2018). *Maritime Security Risks, Vulnerabilities and Cooperation: Uncertainty in the Indian Ocean*. New South Wales, Australia: Palgrave Macmillan.
- David, M. & Russel, S. (2012). *Indian Ocean Rising: Maritime Security & Policy Challenge*. Washington DC: Stimson
- Heywood, A. (2011). *Global politics*. London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Joshi, S. (2015). *Indian power projection ambition arms & influence*. USA: Routledge.
- Kanwal, G., & Kohli, N. (ed.) (2018). *Defence Reforms: A National Imperative*. New Delhi, India: Pentagon press.
- Kaplan, R. (2016).*The return of Marco's Polo world: war, strategy, and American interest in the twenty-first century*. New York, USA: Penguin random house. [e-book]. Retrieved from www.pdfdrive.com.
- Khanna, V. (2013). *International relations*. Noida, India: Vikas publication house pvt ltd
- Kraska, J. (2011). *Contemporary Maritime Piracy: International Law, Strategy, and Diplomacy at Sea*. California, USA: Praeger. [e-book]. Retrieved from www.pdfdrive.com.
- Krause, J. & Bruns, S.(ed.) (2016). *Routledge handbook of naval strategy and Security*. USA: Routledge. [e-book]. Retrieved from www.pdfdrive.com.
- Lee, C. (2018). *Maritime Security Risk, Vulnerability and Cooperation: uncertainty in the Indian Ocean*. Australia: Palgrave Macmillan
- Manoj, G. (2010). *Maritime Regimes for Regional Cooperation*. Canberra, Australia: Springer.
- Micheal, D. & Sticklor, S. (ed.).(2012). *Indian Ocean Rising: Maritime Security and Policy Challenges*. Washington, DC: Stimson
- Mière, C. (2014). *Maritime Diplomacy in the 21st Century: Drivers and Challenges*. USA: Routledge. [e-book]. Retrieved from www.pdfdrive.com.
- Morgenthau, JH. (1948). *Politics among Nation: The struggle for power and peace*. New York: Alfred A. Knof Inc. [e-book]. Retrieved from www.pdfdrive.com.
- Panda, J. (ed.)(2020). *Scaling India-Japan Cooperation in Indo-Pacific and Beyond 2025: Corridors, Connectivity and Contours*. New Delhi, India: KW Publishers Pvt Ltd.

- Pandya, A., Burns, R. and Kobayashi, J. (2011). *Maritime Commerce and Security: The Indian Ocean*. Stimson Center. [e-book]. Retrieved from www.pdfdrive.com.
- Prabhakar, W. (2016). *Growth of Naval Power in the Indian Ocean: Dynamics and Transformation*. New Delhi, India: National maritime foundation.
- *The Maritime Future of the Indian Ocean*. (2010, September). The Hague Centre for Strategic Studies. [e-book]. Retrieved from www.pdfdrive.com.
- Tim, S., Willem, C., Mira, L., Joelle, T., Zinzi, S. & Jeroen, JD. (2010). *The Maritime Future of Indian Ocean: The Hague Centre of Strategic Studies.*The Hague: Koninklijke De Swart
- Verma, SP. (1975). *Modern political theory*. Delhi: Vikas publication.
- Vijay, S. & Kapil, N. (2016). *Maritime Safety and Security in the Indian Ocean*. New Delhi: Vij Books India Pvt Ltd
- Wasby, S. (1970). *Political science: The discipline and its dimension: An introduction*. Calcutta: Scientific book agency.
- Zhu, C. (2018). *India's Ocean: Can China and India Coexist?*. Singapore: Springer. [e-book]. Retrieved from www.pdfdrive.com.

Secondary Resources: Articles/ Journals

- Bhattacherjee, A. (ed.). (2014). The Maritime great game: India, China, US & The Indian Ocean and Rajan, D. (2014). China in the Indian Ocean: Competing Priorities. *Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies*,___,7-9. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep09400.6.
- Brewster, D. (2010). An Indian Sphere of Influence in the Indian Ocean?. *Security Challenges, 6(3)*, 1-20. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/26459796.
- Chaudhury, A. & Chatterji, R. (2019, September). Maritime order and connectivity in the Indian Ocean: the renewed significance of the Bay of Bengal. *Journal of the Indian Ocean Region, 15(3)*, 241-244. Retrieved from : https://doi.org/10.1080/19480881.2019.1665823

- Cleven, W., Levi, M., Jonge, J., Sweijs, T., Tabak, J., & Speear, Z. (2010). The Maritime Future of the Indian Ocean. *Hague Centre for Strategic Studies*,___,15-40. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep12587.5.
- Cordesman, H., Toukan, A., Wang, M., and Jones, E. (14 April 2016). The Indian Ocean Region: Red Sea and Horn Sub-Region. *Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)*, 01-29. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep23393.
- Daniel, T. (2015, March). Project Mausam: India's Grand Maritime Strategy (Part II). *Institute of strategic and international studies (ISIS) Malaysia, 5054/11/2012 (031098),* 1-4. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep13524.1
- Das, C. (2019). India's Maritime Diplomacy in South West Indian Ocean. *Journal of the strategic studies, 12(2),* 42-59. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/26696259.
- Hassan, M. (2019). Growing China-India Competition in the Indian Ocean. *Strategic studies, 39/1,* 77-89. Retrieved from: https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/48544289.
- Kamerling, S. & Pandit, P. (2019, October). Avenues for EU-Indian Maritime Cooperation in a Connectivity Context. *Clingendael Institute*,___,1-6. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep21335.
- Lea, C. (2014). India's Extending Naval Horizons and Partnerships. In Tsjeng,H. & Graham, E (eds.), Navigating the Indo-Pacific arc (pp 28-43). Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep05903.8.
- Thomas, R. (2020). Leveraging India's Maritime Diplomacy, *Journal of Defence Studies*, Vol. 14, No. 3, July-September 2020, pp. 1-27 Retrieved from https://idsa.in/jds/14-3-2020-leveraging-indias-maritime-diplomacy
- Upadhyaya, S. (2015). The Indian Navy and the pivot. *Naval War College Review, 68/4,* 141-142. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/26397904.